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ABSTRACT

Sociolinguistic information is needed for proper implementation of bilingual education programs. The survey discussed here was designed to provide information on the sociolinguistic parameters in the bilingual community, identification of the transfer or maintenance status of Spanish, and the selection of a bilingual education program. A questionnaire related to general language use and language preference patterns was administered to educators and parents in a small, rural Colorado community, which had had a bilingual education program for four years. They were also asked to examine models of bilingual programs to determine the type of program they would prefer to their own. The results demonstrated that educators and parents differ in their sociolinguistic characteristics and in their selection of a bilingual education program model. These results challenge the assumptions that teaching/administrative staff in bilingual programs themselves reflect bilingual goals and orientations in their behavior, and that ethnicity rather than socio-economic or educational factors is a primary influence in language maintenance. The unintentional exclusion of children from the survey is seen as a flaw and reflective of the tendency to exclude those most affected by a policy from the policy-making process. (AMH)

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A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF A BILINGUAL COMMUNITY: IMPLICATIONS FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION*

Adalberto Aguirre, Jr.

Bilingual education programs in the southwestern United States are designed to promote the educational opportunities of Non-English Proficient (NEP) or Limited English Proficient (LEP) children, serving as a transitional vehicle for moving these children into the mainstream society ("Bilingual Education and Desegregation," 1979; Plastino, 1979). As a socializing agent in the public schools, bilingual education focuses on the reduction of any cognitive constraints imposed upon NEP and LEP children by their primary languages. Implicit within bilingual education programs is the assumption that members of both the ethnic and mainstream society will accept bilingual education as a necessary vehicle for the creation of an equitable educational environment for all participants. However, it is this assumption that has led some to believe that bilingual education programs have created accommodating environments for the acceptance of differences, rather than promoting the attainment of general educational goals (Lewis, 1977; Aguirre and Fernandez, 1976).

The rapid expansion of bilingual education programs in the southwestern United States during the past few years has largely

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been brought about by court decisions and federal/state legislation (Carter, 1978; Gonzalez, 1975; "Bilingual Education: A Problem of Substantial Numbers," 1974). In a majority of cases, such programs have been implemented to curb the increasing educational inequality of NEP and LEP students in American public schools without focusing on the structures of social inequality the schools continue to support and transmit. A major goal in the bilingual program's design is to provide equality of educational opportunity, despite the fact that it is still not clear whether education is a major factor in determining future careers and social class. As Blau and Duncan (1967) have demonstrated, only structural changes in society are the primary causes of upward mobility. As currently structured, bilingual education is designed to have an effect on the educational environment, rather than to cause change in the educational system. As a result, the concern in bilingual education programs with educational inequality is not necessarily going to correct the social inequality of students (Aguirre, 1979).

The manifest reason for introducing bilingual education programs into a community has been to demonstrate concern for the needs of a "deprived" group of people; however, their rapid implementation, without attention to a community's needs, reduces their chances of being productive. Implementation of many bilingual education programs has occurred without comprehensive sociolinguistic analyses of the target student populations and their respective school-community environments (Aguirre and Bixler-Marquez, 1979).

The lack of collaboration between school and community in formulating general educational goals for a bilingual education program predicates that program growth will arise out of a series of compromising situations between the school and community. Program growth of this sort is additive, a number of units thrown together because they conform to a given program definition rather than cumulative, in which each increment in the series prepares the way for the next. Within the context of a social system (and education most certainly is one), cumulative growth is much more likely to alter patterns, while additive growth will sustain them (Hawley, 1978). It is therefore not surprising to realize that the aggregate nature of these programs is usually employed in their evaluation to demonstrate a lack of cumulative growth in them.

For instance, the available criteria for the selection of a bilingual education program has usually been based on very limited language assessments, language assessments that are often the interpretation of a community's needs by an external agency or body of professionals, rather than a community's evaluation of its own linguistic needs (Mackey and Ornstein, 1977). As a result, many of the obstacles bilingual education programs encounter stem from the lack and depth of the assessments and from the lack of collaboration between the community and the educational planning agency. However, this is not unique to bilingual education. It is a general social fact that people directly affected by public policy are rarely included in the policy-making process (Glaser and Possony, 1979; Wenner, 1976; McRae, 1970; Leibowitz, 1976; Padilla, 1980).

Despite the legal requirement that a language assessment of the student population be a prerequisite for development of a bilingual education program, such assessments are usually limited to an analysis of the child's first acquired language, the language normally spoken, and the language most often spoken in the home (Rice, 1976; Mercer and Mercer, 1979). There is a need, however, to go beyond this superficial evaluation of linguistic background and to begin supplying policymakers with findings and recommendations focusing on a collaborative effort between the community and school. It is a collaborative effort that examines such issues as the use and demand for languages in the community, the general proficiency of parents and educators in those languages, and support for their use in the schools (Fishman and Lovas, 1972; Cohen, 1975).

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

The decentralization process taking place in American education has affected most federal and state compensatory education programs, including bilingual education. The regulations now involve the community in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of bilingual programs (Brown, 1975; Pena, 1976). The *Transitional Bilingual Education Law of Massachusetts* (Kobrick, 1972), for example, stipulates that the bilingual education units in the development of an educational program shall support the participation of a wide spectrum of people concerned with educating children of limited English proficiency in the formulation of policy and procedures. Waserstein (1975) describes, for exam-

ple, how a community in Delaware was influential in developing, and later monitoring, its bilingual education program. Similarly, Melikoff (1972) reports how the community of St. Lambert (French-speaking Canada) was largely responsible for the creation of a bilingual program; and Foley (1976) describes how the Spanish-speaking population of Crystal City, Texas took control of the school system and instituted a K-12 bilingual education program.

In recognition of the impact a community can and should have on bilingual programs, educators widely recommend strong community support in all aspects of the program (Edwards, 1976). To minimize potential resistance to a bilingual education program and respond to community demands for a staff attuned to the needs of the target ethnic group, it has become common practice for school systems to recruit personnel from the ethnic community (Betances, 1977). The most expedient approach is to:

1. Employ available teachers and administrators who belong to the same ethnic group as the students.
2. Supplement the classroom teachers assigned to the bilingual program with paraprofessionals from the local ethnic community.

It is expected that a teaching/administrative staff that belongs to the ethnic population served by a bilingual program will be more attuned to the needs and desires of the community and will be supportive of the bilingual program during all its stages.

Implicit in these staffing strategies, however, is the assumption that ethnic homogeneity among group members will extend to the sharing of language use patterns or that members will share the same everyday patterns of language use. This assumption be-

comes problematic when one considers that fact that social and economic differences between school staff and the community may be of such magnitude that the two groups may not share sociolinguistic orientations, especially in terms of the role Spanish and English are to play in education (Epstein, 1977).

Any divergence arising between the bilingual teaching staff and the community may be largely the result of a concomitant effect from socio-economic differences and orientation to an English-speaking environment. Potential conflict between the two groups may center on the emphasis to be placed on English and Spanish in education. For instance, participants of the 1974 Chicano Teachers Conference argued that Chicano school personnel in the Southwest are usually not responsive to the cultural and language needs of Chicano students because they are largely part of an Anglo-American system, and as such, behave according to the norms and precepts instilled by the system (Chacon and Bowman, 1974).

While the community may favor the use of Spanish in all school subject areas, the teaching/administrative staff may seek to promote English rather than Spanish in order to expand the socio-economic expectations of the bilingual students. It is proposed, therefore, that even when the school staff and local community are both bilingual and members of the same ethnic group, their sociolinguistic characteristics must be assessed in order to minimize potential resistance to bilingual education stemming from school/community conflicts.

PURPOSE

The need for reliable information on which to base language policy is the major justification for sociolinguistic surveys. The primary task of the sociolinguistic survey is to provide an accurate representation of a community's sociolinguistic situation to those responsible for language policy decisions (Cooper, 1980; Lieberson, 1980). The attention in the United States toward the educational problems of children who speak a language other than English creates a need for sociolinguistic information regarding such topics as effects of language on social status, the contribution of mother tongue education to cognitive development, and the group status of language. This sociolinguistic information is vital to those who develop materials and implement educational programs if bilingual education programs are to produce substantial results. For instance, sociolinguistic surveys are widely used in multilingual societies to insure compatibility between school and community goals and consequently increase the chances for attaining specific results (Kloss, 1969; Alleyne, 1975; Fishman, 1972; Verdoodt, 1974; Ohannessian and Ansre, 1975).

The purpose is to discuss some results from a sociolinguistic survey focusing on a collaborative effort between the school and community for the formulation of language policy and selection of a bilingual education program. My approach incorporates many of the sociolinguistic variables outlined by Reyburn (1975) and many of the sociolinguistic decision-making variables discussed by Fishman and Lovas (1972) necessary for the formulation of language

policy. Specifically, the survey is designed to provide information regarding the sociolinguistic parameters in the bilingual community, identification of the transfer or maintenance status of Spanish in the community, and the selection of a bilingual education program.

The principal areas in which the survey was administered are presented in Figure 1. Parents and Educators were compared on the following variables: demographic background, self-reported proficiency in Spanish and English, and actual versus preferred language use by social situation. The demographic variable encompasses ethnicity, native language, respondent's place of birth, and parent's place of birth. The proficiency variable includes understanding, speaking, reading, and writing capabilities in each language. The totality of this information should allow for an examination of the ethnic homogeneity between parents and educators and its association with their sociolinguistic characteristics.

THE BILINGUAL COMMUNITY

The research site was a rural bilingual community of approximately 2,500 people, located in the north central section of Colorado. The community has remained relatively isolated from the socio-economic mainstream of American society, having missed exposure to some of the economic transformations brought about by the historical introduction of the railroad and/or mining industry that other Spanish-speaking communities in the southwestern United States have undergone. One observable result of the community's rural and socio-economic isolation is strong support for main-

Figure 1

AREAS OF INVESTIGATION

	Social Areas				
Social Groups	Home	School	Church	Social Services	Mass Media
PARENTS[1]					
Reported Language Use	X	X	Y	X	X
Preferred Language Use	X	X	Y	X	X
EDUCATORS[2]					
Reported Language Use	X	X	Y	X	X
Preferred Language Use	X	X	Y	X	X

[1]Parents of children enrolled in school K-12, but not employed by the school districts.

[2]School staff--secondary and elementary teachers and administrators in K-12.

X: Areas examined and analyzed in this report.

Y: Areas examined but not analyzed in this report.

taining the Spanish language.

The bilingual education progam has been in the community's schools for four years. It was initially designed to play both a restoration role for monolingual English speakers in the ethnic population and one of transition for the monolingual Spanish speakers. Operating from kindergarten through the fourth grade, it serves approximately 175 students and has a staff of eight teacher-aides, one community coordinator, and a program coordinator.

Bilingual education was introduced in the school under the assumption that its predominantly Mexican-American teaching/administrative staff would automatically support the program. Bilingual teacher-aides were added to the staff to *complement* the classroom teachers rather than to *supplement* them as is common practice when a teacher is known to have limited Spanish language skills. However, instead of increasing the program's support, the introduction of the teacher-aides produced serious misunderstandings over the role of the teacher and teacher-aide, misunderstandings that forced the community to re-examine the role of bilingual education. As the data will illustrate, the differential sociolinguistic orientations of teachers and parents were quite instrumental in creating an aura of confusion around the bilingual program.

The bilingual community is, thus, an excellent location in which to investigate the question of whether ethnic homogeneity between the teaching/administrative staff and the community extends to the emphasis on language choice in the school. In this community, one is more likely to find the maintenance of the Spanish language and culture and a higher degree of ethnic homogeneity between parents and educators as compared to urban or less isolated rural areas. However, the conflict in this community regarding the implementation and orientation of the program warrants the observation that ethnic homogeneity may not extend to the sociolinguistic characteristics of the school personnel and the immediate community concerned with the educational process.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

To determine general language use and language preference patterns for educators (N = 37) and parents (N = 35) in selected social situations, a questionnaire consisting of 53 items was administered. The questionnaire was administered to respondents in the language in which they indicated they felt most comfortable (e.g., Spanish or English).

Respondents were also asked to read a description of four bilingual education models that illustrated the approximate amount of Spanish and English spoken throughout the grades (see Figure 2). The respondents' understanding of these models was closely monitored before they were asked what type of program they would like implemented in their schools.

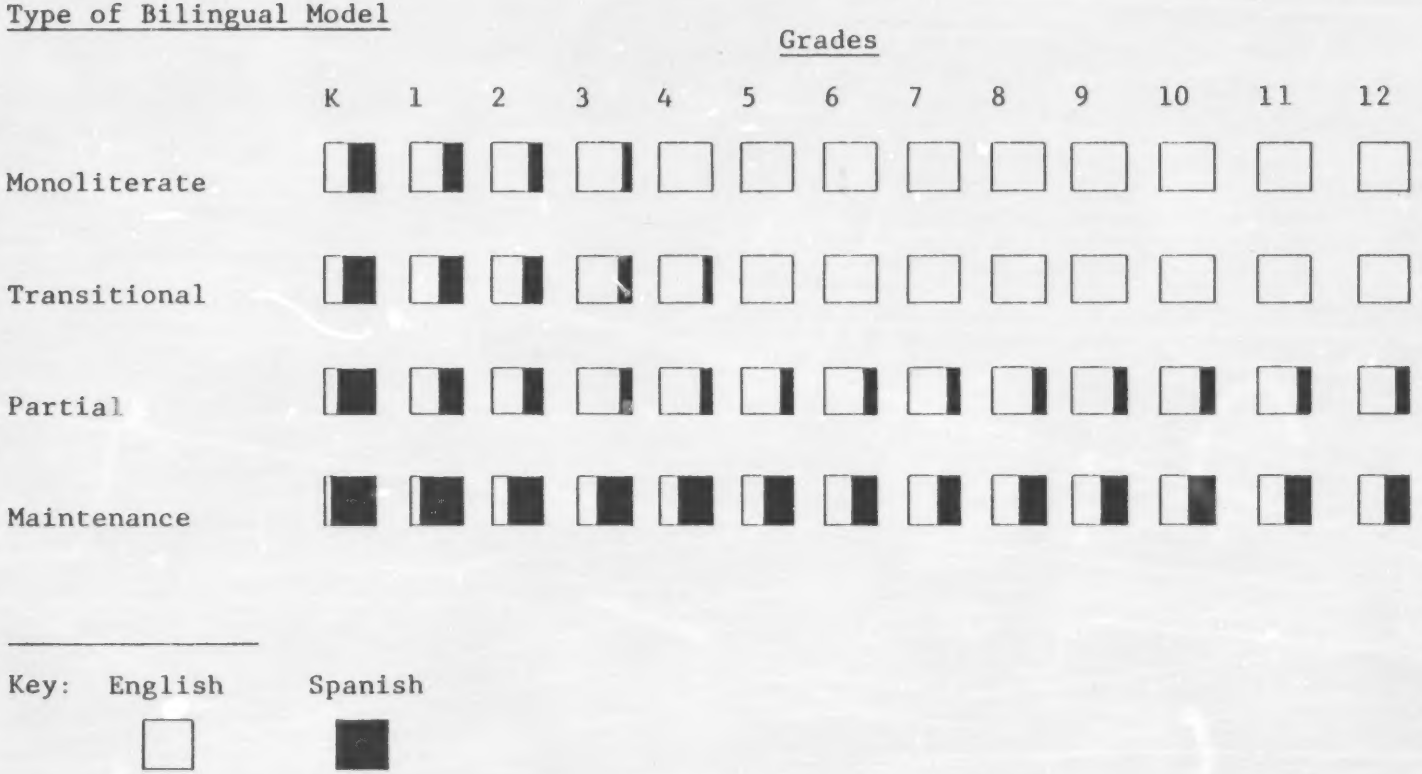
RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The adult bilingual community examined in this study appears to be undergoing a language shift from Spanish to English. While respondents report the ability to speak and understand both languages, they also report having better literacy skills in English than in Spanish (see Tables 1 and 2). This result is a sociolinguistic condition conducive to language shift in a bilingual community (Gal, 1979), in this case, from Spanish to English.

Some intersting variations occur when one examines parents' and educators' self-identification with ethnic and linguistic background. While the majority of adult respondents identified themselves as *Mexican-American*, a small number of educators selecte'

Figure 2

TYPOLOGY OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION MODELS*



*Adapted from Fishman and Lovas, 1972, p. 42.

Table 1

SPANISH PROFICIENCY SELF-ESTIMATES FOR PARENTS AND EDUCATORS

Proficiency Level	Parents (N = 35)	Educators (N = 37)
Understanding Ability		
excellent	26%	30%
good	60%	43%
fair	14%	27%
Speaking Ability		
excellent	17%	22%
good	63%	43%
fair	20%	35%
Reading Ability		
excellent	20%	35%
good	17%	22%
fair	63%	43%
Writing Ability		
excellent	32%	52%
good	48%	24%
fair	20%	24%

Table 2

ENGLISH PROFICIENCY SELF-ESTIMATES FOR PARENTS AND EDUCATORS

Proficiency Level	Parents (N = 35)	Educators (N = 37)
Understanding Ability		
excellent	26%	59%
good	64%	39%
fair	10%	2%
Speaking Ability		
excellent	23%	49%
good	53%	43%
fair	24%	8%
Reading Ability		
excellent	26%	57%
good	66%	38%
fair	8%	5%
Writing Ability		
excellent	23%	57%
good	51%	41%
fair	26%	2%

the term *Hispanic* as an identity marker (see Table 3). This slight difference in ethnic identification becomes understandable when one remembers that traditionally, *Hispanic* has been a label employed by individuals possessing either a certain level of material affluence and/or an extended post-secondary educational background.

Regarding their linguistic background, 86 percent of the parents, compared to 67 percent of the educators, reported Spanish as their native language (see Table 3). This result also supports the general patterns for language proficiency self-estimates in Tables 1 and 2: parents report having a much better command of communication skills in Spanish than in English, while educators rated themselves as having a better command of communication skills in English than in Spanish. In addition, the results presented in Figure 3 allow one to observe a higher level of self-reported proficiency in English than in Spanish.

Sociolinguistic Characteristics

A comparison of Tables 1 and 2 shows that respondents report having better literacy skills in English than in Spanish despite their ability to speak and understand both languages. Educators do, however, report being better at speaking and understanding English and Spanish, while parents report a similar ability to speak and understand either language.

When asked to report their level and preference of language use in a variety of social situations, parents report a general use of and preference for Spanish, while educators report a general

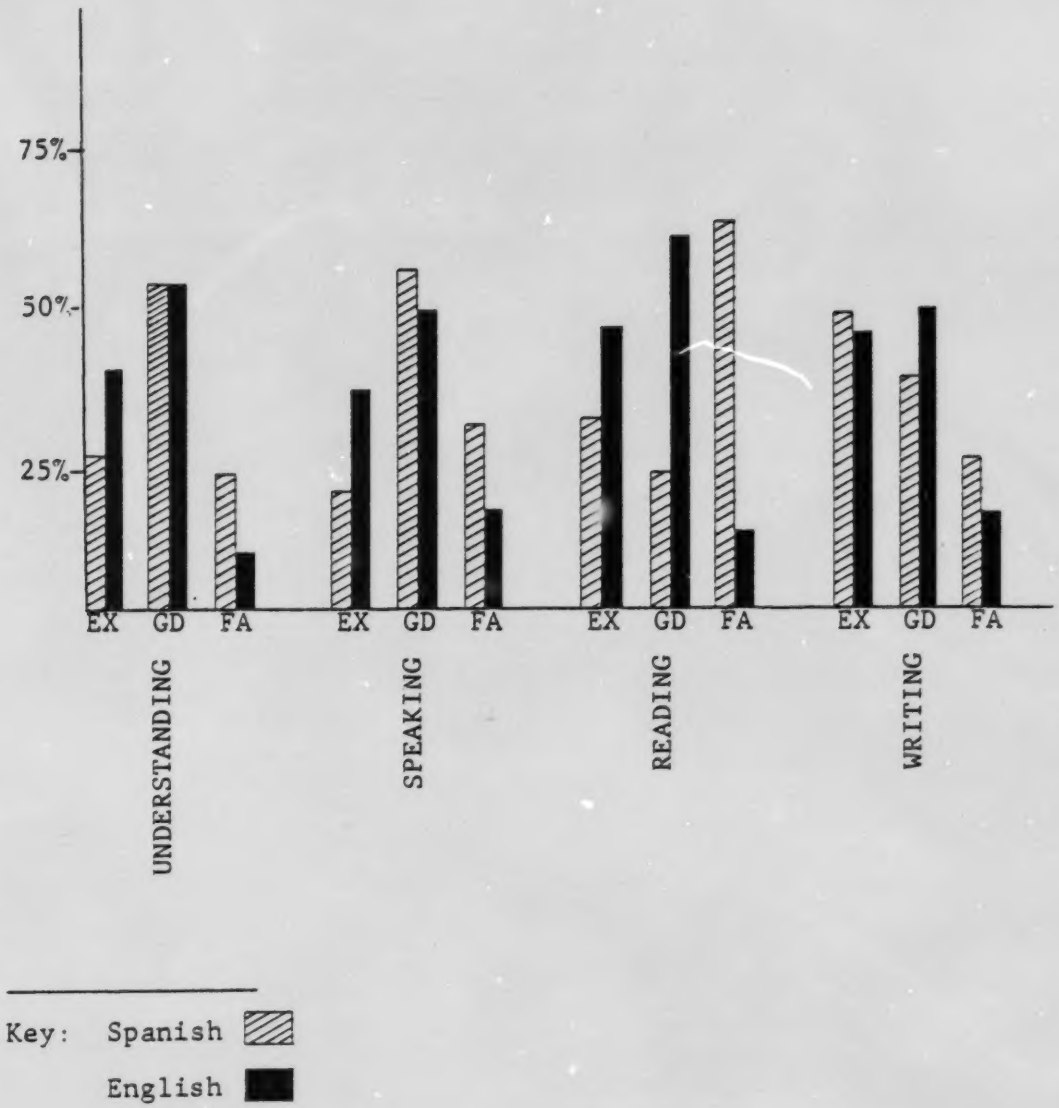
Table 3

DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF PARENTS AND EDUCATORS

Background Variables	Parents (N = 35)	Educators (N = 37)
Ethnicity		
Hispanic	0%	19%
Mexican-American	100%	81%
Native Language		
English	14%	33%
Spanish	86%	67%
Birthplace (Community)		
Native	86%	78%
Non-native	14%	22%
Father Born in Community		
Yes	89%	77%
No	11%	23%
Mother Born in Community		
Yes	91%	81%
No	9%	19%

Figure 3

OVERALL RESPONDENTS' SELF-REPORTED PROFICIENCY
FOR COMMUNICATION SKILLS IN ENGLISH
AND SPANISH



use of and preference for English (see Table 4). Regarding the language they would want their children to use with grandparents and friends, parents report a preference for Spanish, while educators report a preference for English (see Table 5).

If we compare the preferred language use of parents and educators summarized in Table 4, with their preference for their own children's language use summarized in Table 5, we observe some interesting variations. First, in Table 6 we observe that parents have similar language preferences for themselves and their own children, whereas educators do not. Given the general preference for English by educators, it is interesting to note that they prefer that their own children approach a greater degree of balance in the use of both languages.

Comparing Tables 4 and 6 we see that the language preference of parents with their own children is similar to their preference with their own parents. In contrast, educators prefer to use both languages with their own children but wish to use English with their own parents.

Given the comparisons here, the following conclusions can be drawn. First, in terms of use and preference, parents exhibit a higher level of consistency in their language behavior, which may also serve as an indicator of a high level of maintenance and support for bilingualism. By contrast, there is no corresponding level of consistency for educator responses. However, the finding that they prefer their own children to be balanced in the use of both languages suggests that they may, on one hand, be quite loyal to bilingualism but, on the other, not support it in everyday life.

Table 4

REPORTED LANGUAGE USE AND PREFERRED LANGUAGE USE OF PARENTS AND EDUCATORS

Reported Language Use	With one's spouse at home		With one's parents		With one's friends		With one's children	
	Parents	Educators	Parents	Educators	Parents	Educators	Parents	Educators
English	11	24	8	25	6	18	18	30
Spanish	24	13	27	12	29	19	17	7
	$x^2 = 15.6$	$p < .05$	$x^2 = 7.47$	$p < .05$	$x^2 = 5.52$	$p < .05$	$x^2 = 4.62$	$p < .05$
Preferred Language Use								
English	11	31	6	25	17	32	5	18
Spanish	24	6	29	12	18	5	30	19
	$x^2 = 15.6$	$p < .05$	$x^2 = 12.4$	$p < .05$	$x^2 = 11.2$	$p < .05$	$x^2 = 5.28$	$p < .05$

Table 5

PREFERRED LANGUAGE USAGE FOR CHILDREN

Language Usage	Parents (N = 35)	Educators (N = 37)
With grandparents		
English	30%	44%
Spanish	70%	56%
With friends		
English	41%	56%
Spanish	59%	44%

Table 6

PREFERRED LANGUAGE USE FOR PARENTS, EDUCATORS, AND THEIR CHILDREN

Language Usage	Parents	Their Children	Educators	Their Children
With grandparents				
English	17%	30%	68%	44%
Spanish	83%	70%	32%	56%
With friends				
English	49%	41%	86%	56%
Spanish	19%	59%	14%	44%

Though there is not enough data to generate reasons for this pattern, one may speculate that educators have a high loyalty to bilingualism but do not readily support it because they want to identify with the community and its members. Secondly, from a social psychological perspective, one may speculate that educators may want their own children to be bilingual to compensate for their own sense of loss in the use of both languages, perhaps as a result of acculturation effects encountered in attaining a degree in higher education. For instance, comparing Tables 4 and 6 again, one observes that educators report using mainly English when speaking with their children but prefer their children to use both languages. We can thus suspect that the home context of educators is not bilingual and that the necessary support mechanism for the functioning of bilingual norms will not be found in the home. It should be noted that we are only speaking of language and not culture. A necessary phase in a study such as this would be to see how educators' and parents' households differ in some measure of cultural assimilation.

Mass Media

Despite the limited availability of Spanish language media in the area, parents report a much greater preference for Spanish language media than educators (see Table 7). While it might appear that educators prefer media in either language, there is a slight leaning in their responses in the direction of English language media. In addition, an analysis of the residential patterns of both parents and educators revealed that educators largely reside

Table 7

MASS MEDIA USE AND PREFERENCE BY LANGUAGE

	Television Programs		Radio Programs		Movies		Periodicals	
Reported Use	Parents	Educators	Parents	Educators	Parents	Educators	Parents	Educators
English	86%	83%	80%	61%	88%	97%	85%	67%
Spanish	14%	17%	20%	39%	12%	3%	15%	33%
Preferred Use								
English	14%	41%	14%	37%	10%	44%	18%	54%
Spanish	86%	59%	86%	63%	90%	56%	82%	46%

in an area around the periphery of the community where cable television is most accessible. Spanish language programs from the SIN network are available through cable television; however, in informal interviews, educators expressed a reluctance to allow themselves and/or their children to view Spanish language television programs.

Selected Social Services

Medical and legal services are available and utilized in either language by respondents. However, when compared, a higher percentage of parents reported using services in which mostly Spanish was spoken than did educators. The language in which these services were obtained probably differed among the informants because parents would be more apt to use local services whose staff is primarily bilingual; whereas educators, for the most part, would seek these services outside the community in an urban area whose staff is more likely to be predominantly English-speaking (see Table 8).

Type of Bilingual Program

The majority of educators reported a preference for a partial model, while parents reported a preference for a maintenance model. Asked why they preferred the transitional model, most educators replied that: (1) a maintenance model would be detrimental to the development of English, and/or (2) the implementation of a transitional model would be less problematic in terms of such factors as personnel and scheduling (see Table 9).

Table 8

REPORTED USE AND PREFERRED USE OF MEDICAL AND LEGAL SERVICES BY LANGUAGE

	Medical		Legal	
Reported Usage	Parents	Educators	Parents	Educators
Mostly English	36%	65%	59%	86%
Mostly Spanish	64%	35%	41%	14%
	$x^2 = 4.96$	$p < .05$	$x^2 = 7.0$	$p < .05$
Preferred Usage				
Mostly English	21%	36%	17%	53%
Mostly Spanish	79%	65%	83%	47%
	$x^2 = 1.98$	$p < .05$	$x^2 = 9.94$	$p < .05$

Table 9

REPORTED PREFERENCES FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Type of Program	Parents	Educators
Maintenance	83%	43%
Partial-Transitional	17%	57%
	$x^2 = 12.24$, $p < .05$	

SUMMARY REMARKS

For more than a century this bilingual community has maintained the use of Spanish for various societal functions. The results demonstrate that, despite a high level of loyalty to the Spanish language, the community's adult population reports greater use of English than Spanish for communication. This result is primarily attributed to the concomitant effects of generational forces in the population, the decreasing reliance on Spanish for formal societal functions, and the increasing participation of the community's young in urban educational institutions that are, for the most part, oriented to an English-speaking world.

The introduction of a transitional bilingual education program in the community's schools four years ago was in conformity with the state's bilingual education policy. However, the program was seen by the community as an imposition because it was not based on an analysis of the community's concerns with linguistic and cultural heritage. This resulted in numerous conflicts within and between the school and community regarding the direction, implementation, and productivity of the bilingual program. As the results clearly demonstrate, not only do educators and parents differ in their sociolinguistic characteristics, but also in their selection of a bilingual education program model. These results seriously challenge the assumption that teaching/administrative staff in bilingual programs themselves reflect bilingual goals and orientations in their behavior.

The difference in sociolinguistic characteristics for parents and educators also seriously challenges the assumption of ethnic homogeneity, that is, the assumption that ethnicity is a primary factor in language maintenance. The social values acquired through a university or college teacher training program may supercede primary group need affiliation on the basis of ethnicity. For this group of individuals, ethnicity may be necessary for primary group identification but not sufficient for the use of Spanish in primary group affiliation.

Despite the scope limitations for this study, the results support the use of sociolinguistic surveys focusing on the interrelationships between community and school goals for a bilingual education program (Hernandez-Chavez, 1978). This study clearly demonstrates its use in the examination of general assumptions regarding language and ethnic behavior, and its effectiveness for revealing the differential values, *vis-à-vis* reported language use and preferred language use of bilingual speakers. The examination of value place in language choice decisions by bilingual speakers is a concern that has escaped serious attention by researchers in bilingual education.

However, while the results support the utility of employing sociolinguistic surveys in bilingual education programs and their decisions, the survey, as a methodological tool, is assumed to produce a representation of reality. The problem here is the question of whose reality is being represented. Instrument construction is certainly going to reflect any ideological predispositions of the researcher. The instrument may therefore be quite

good at producing results that support the structured life experience of respondents as perceived by the researcher. Going one step further, responses may also be more of a reflection of the perceived structure of life experiences in the instrument rather than their actual structure. In other words, respondents may be responding consistently to survey questions because they assume that the task requires consistency in response from them.

There is also the much more important question of social conflict. The sociolinguistic survey may be appropriate for resolving potential conflict between the school and community in defining bilingual education goals. However, the method of resolving the conflict may not be in the best interests of the children. This is by no means unique to the field of bilingual education. It simply reflects the tendency in this country to exclude those directly affected by policy decisions from participating in decision making. For example, a sociolinguistic survey may reveal that both parents and teachers want children to learn only English; yet, the survey also reveals that the children report a much greater usage of and preference for Spanish. Whose preferences will be taken into account? If children are central to the educational process, should we not follow their preferences and organize content areas in Spanish, gradually introducing the second language? There is still potential conflict here because both parents and educators may not be supportive of their children's educational activities. This example demonstrates the magnitude of the questions one can generate in this area.

Perhaps a serious flaw in the work here is the exclusion of data regarding language use patterns and language preference of children in the bilingual education program. The oversight was by no means intentional, but simply a result of the time and effort limitations encountered in survey research. The inclusion of such data would have permitted necessary comparisons between parents, educators, and children regarding sociolinguistic considerations. Given the general loosely coupled characteristic of school organization, it would be interesting to examine the level of congruency in language preferences for all three groups and their use in supporting the bilingual education program.

A methodological refinement in sociolinguistic surveys for future work in the bilingual education area must be the inclusion of retrospective questions. It is necessary, especially when we are dealing with parents and educators, to begin documenting those life experiences that either promote or retard bilingual behavior. In the case of parents, it is important to examine how their life experiences affected the rearing of their children, and with respect to teachers, how their life expectancies may become part of their instructional methods in the classroom. For children, it would be interesting to see the age at which they become aware of positive and negative evaluation of bilingual behavior at home and in the school.

Researchers may object to the use of retrospective questions, arguing that respondents may not be capable of providing valid representations of past life experiences. While this may be true, their objection is outweighed by the fact that retrospective ques-

tions provide a means for determining change over time when data can be gathered at only a single point in time. For example, one can compare the language characteristics of young children with the retrospective answers given by parents and teachers. One could then use a single survey to make inferences about intergenerational changes in language use. The most significant reason for including retrospective questions in a sociolinguistic survey is that they transform the instrument into a useful tool for acquiring case study data on language use. The end result is that their aggregation leads to the construction of a quasi-ethnography for the community studied.

Mills (1959) identifies three roles for the social scientist in the public sphere: philosopher-king, in which the social scientist occupies a position of power and is seen as extraordinarily knowledgeable; independent philosopher, in which he/she remains independent in work and selection of problems for study, but directs this work at both kings and public; and advisor to the king, where the social scientist functions as a technician, providing information mostly to bureaucratic officials. The researcher in bilingualism and its educational practice must wear two hats and strive to promote collaborative research between kings and public (Aguirre, 1978). His or her colleagues, as kings in kingdoms of their own, must be educated regarding the sociolinguistic characteristics and educational needs of bilingual communities and their children. Bilingual communities must, on the other hand, be educated regarding the changing ideologies of English-speaking educational institutions and their effects on educational policy for

bilingual children. To ignore the concerns of kings insures that bilingual education will not be interested in bilingualism, as much as in legitimating its presence and service to a much larger educational enterprise that is largely bureaucratic in nature. To ignore the public is to create an environment within which bilingual education simply becomes an addition to the body of myth in American public education, rather than a challenge to prevailing educational ideologies.

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